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156**COUNTRY** China**DATE:****SUBJECT** Political Information: LIU Shao-ch'i**INFO.** See below

劉少奇

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March

SUPPLEMENT**ORIGIN** See below

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EVALUATION OF SOURCE See below**LIBRARY COPY****EVALUATION OF CONTENT** See below

1. LIU Shao-ch'i, vice-chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, is one of the most powerful of the Chinese Communist hierarchy and second only to MAO Tse-tung in prestige and influence. He is very shy and quiet. He was an early trade union leader and organizer in China.
2. He is now regarded along with chairman MAO as the clearest and most precise thinker in Yenan. He is considered the foremost theorist and Marxist scholar among the members of the Chinese Communist Party. Source B reports that LIU is the author of several books in Chinese on Marxism and that he composed the report on the revision of the Chinese Communist Party regulations in the 6th National Congress of the party held in Yenan in May 1945.

Source for paragraph 3: [REDACTED] 25X1X

3. During the summer and fall of 1946 when there was much speculation regarding MAO Tse-tung's ill health and the possibility that MAO would have to be replaced, LIU was most often mentioned as MAO's successor; however, many members of the Central Committee of the party felt that LIU's quietness and lack of power to express himself publicly did not make him the ideal man to head the party. There was a great deal of envy among the hierarchy of the party regarding the selection of a member to replace chairman MAO.

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Source for paragraph 4; [REDACTED]

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4. LIU dresses very simply. When interviewed by source LIU was wearing homespun woolens, black wool cap, heavy felt shoes and brown scarf. LIU has a long slender face, brown eyes, straight nose and full lips.

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Note: The information in the following paragraphs 5 - 19, was obtained by [REDACTED] in a personal interview with LIU. All the information in quotation marks are the direct words of LIU himself; no attempt has been made to alter the manner in which LIU has expressed himself in this verbatim account. Where information given by LIU in the interview has also been reported by another source, the other source is indicated in parenthesis before the end of the sentence being discussed and the evaluation is changed accordingly in the margin of the report. The remaining information is evaluated [REDACTED]

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5. "I was born in Yinsan, Hunan Province [REDACTED]. I am one of three sons of a peasant family. I have been married twice and have three sons, all of whom are students in Yenan. One son, by my first wife, was executed in Nanking by the Kuomintang. I was born during an epoch of change and awakening in China. I am 49 years of age."

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Comment:

49 appears to be a mistake. 25X1X

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[REDACTED] reports LIU's birth as 1905; [REDACTED] as 1900. In paragraph 9 LIU indicates that he was in Vladivostok and went on to Russia in 1919. In paragraph 10 he states "we were twenty". LIU was probably born in 1899 or 1900. The fact that LIU is regarded as a "thinker" and that age is much revered in China are factors which would tend to make LIU state that he is older than he actually is. He is probably 47 years of age.)

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6. "My elder brother had been a company commander in the revolution which swept the Manchus off the throne. [REDACTED] **Comment:** The Chinese Revolution of 1911. Before I had reached the age of eighteen, I came under the influence of this brother. He came from the struggle loaded down with pamphlets and leaflets written by Dr. SUN Yat-sen advocating the overthrow of the monarchy. Fired with zeal and eager to share in the modern way of life which had come to China, I cut off my queue, the symbol of the old way of life. My schoolmates derided me and my family laughed. They called me 'the young revolutionary'. Then YUAN Shih-k'ai came to power. My hatred for him was as great in its intensity as my love for SUN Yat-sen, and it depressed me to learn that the party Dr. SUN led had fallen before the personal ambitions of YUAN Shih-k'ai".

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7. "A few years later I was in Peiping. I enrolled in Peking University and was active in the student boycotts against the Japanese [REDACTED]. My thinking was influenced by the May Fourth Student Movement of 1919. Western sciences were being introduced into China for the first time and with them came Marxism. I devoured both with the eagerness of youth. (See paragraph 2 above). The university split into two camps -- those who were eventually to become Chinese Communists, such as JEN Pi-shih, now a member of the Politburo; and LO Chia-lun and PENG Tsu-tze, who were regarded as Trotskyites. I was studying no particular subject. At the end of one year, I could afford to continue no longer".

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Comment:

During the period of the First World War and particularly at the time of the Versailles Treaty many young Chinese students enrolled in Peking University. The university did not have strict rules regarding registration, attendance, etc; as a result students could attend only a few classes and have a great deal of time to engage in extra-curricular activities. Many of the leaders and participants in the boycott of Japanese goods, demonstrations, pamphlet writing were enrolled in Peking University. Only recently has this university tightened its rules.)

8. "There were others in the same predicament -- fellow students who had joined me in revolutionary fervor. We talked often of Russia and yearned to go there to see the revolution in progress. One day I said 'why not' and from that time onward we began to plan for a journey to this unknown land. JEN Pi-shih and SHOU Ching-kuan, now a Communist general, and two other students, who have since returned to ordinary

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life, formed the expedition. We had little money, a vague idea of how to proceed on our journey, and a burning desire. Scraming together our tuition money for the next semester we used it to purchase steamer passage from Shanghai to Vladivostok. We boarded the vessel in Shanghai, taking third class accommodations. The ship was the 'Jun Prosperity', small, uncomfortable, and dirty. We spent seven miserably seasick days before landing in Vladivostok. None of us could speak Russian except for a smattering I had picked up from four months study. We were able to make simple purchases but not to bargain. Vladivostok was in Japanese hands. The year was 1919 and the Japanese were paying little attention to Chinese students there.

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9. "From Vladivostok we went to Khabarovsk after obtaining a pass from a Chinese newspaper. In the latter city we met the Red Army, but to our chagrin we were interned for five days instead of being welcomed. We protested that we were Marxists who wanted to join the revolution and were enroute to Moscow to do so. They must have smiled at our youthfulness and enthusiasm. We felt we were on an important mission. They wanted to send us back but we refused to budge. After a few days of waiting, we were cleared to go to Chita. Arriving at Chita we were asked to identify ourselves, and on the spur of the moment, replied 'Chinese Communists', which was a little premature since the party was not to be organized for sometime. At Chita we talked with Soviet officials and convinced them we should go to Moscow. It had taken us a month to reach Chita and Moscow seemed far away; but our hopes were still high. Finally we were given permission to proceed with our fare and lodging paid for the rest of the way. Two months later we arrived in Moscow. The train trip had been an event. Along the way the locomotive would run out of fuel and the passengers would have to get off and go into the forests to bring back firewood. When we pulled into the station in Moscow, we were tired, excited and yet extremely happy. We were twenty and full of the optimism of youth. But when we saw the city and came into contact with beggars and thieves and men in rags, our faith was a little shaken and our belief in the revolution underwent disillusion. We felt maybe the revolution hadn't been so good. The dormitory in which we were housed was cold and bare and the food was detestable. We were always hungry".
10. "For the first seven months we attended classes in Russian economics and history of the international labor movement at the Far Eastern University, which had not yet formally opened its doors. There were no desks and no chairs in the building; it was crude and difficult. Later we became associated with the First Far Eastern Labor Conference which opened in the spring of 1920. Before it began, we did clerical jobs, kept the records, and when it opened, we became delegates representing ourselves. The Kuomintang had sent delegates and there were many others from China, Korea and other Far East countries. There we met the leaders of the Internationale and talked long and impressively with them. Afterwards we returned to China via Chita and Lanchowli".
11. "Back in Shanghai I then knew my life's role. The Communist Party had been organized in my absence -- twelve men meeting secretly in the first congress had been raided by the police after which they fled their schoolhouse rendezvous and finished their work aboard a junk in 1922. [REDACTED] Comment: Lost sources use 1920 as the date of the formation of the Chinese Communist Party.)
2. "I went to Henan and joined LAC Tse-tung and worked with him in founding trade unions. My preparation completed, I set out for the famous iron and steel works at Pinghsiang, Kiangsi. I got a job there and then set about organizing the workers. For the next three years this was my assignment -- organizing, organizing, organizing, and then conducting strikes. I became director of the unions [REDACTED]. I felt these unions were the best organized in Chinese history. We did much -- corrected terrible working conditions and increased wages. During this period we had the full support of the workers".

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13. "In 1925 as representative of the Hankow-Tayeh-Pingshiang Trade Union I went to Shanghai to hold a conference of railway and maritime trade organizations in order to create unions. Shanghai was cold and inhospitable so I went to Canton, arriving there a month after SUN Yat-sen's death. Comment: Pr. SUN died in Beijing on 12 March 1925). It was always one of the bitter disappointments of my life that I never knew this man I cherished so much. The Second Labor Congress opened in Canton on 1 May, 1925 with 400 members. I was elected its vice-director and then returned to Shanghai. Soon after my arrival the famed May 30th incident, in which striking workers were fired upon, took place. We launched a general strike in protest over British brutality".

14. "Tired and discouraged I left for Ch'angsha, Hunan. There for the first time in my career -- I was later to undergo the same experience in Manchuria (see paragraph 19 below and comment) -- I was arrested. The then governor of Hunan, CHAO Heng-t'i, one of the tools of the northern warlords, unceremoniously thrust me into prison as an undesirable person without trial or charge. Comment: CHAO Heng-t'i (趙恆惕), governor from 1921 to 1926, now deceased). News of this quickly reached my comrades. The government at Canton -- the Kuomintang -- also learned of it. Telegrams began pouring into Ch'angsha demanding my release. The Kuomintang Second Congress sent a telegram and its chairman, SUNG Ching-wei, sent a personal one. The governor thoroughly flustered, called me in, apologized, and then released me on the condition that I should never again return to Hunan. I had been in jail one month under conditions which at first were bad but became progressively better as evidence of my popularity increased".

15. "I returned to Hankow and joined the Northern Punitive Expedition of 1926 against the warlords, organizing trade unions along the route. In Hankow also was held the Pacific Trade Union Conference in which Earl Browder was a participant representing American trade unions. We were both elected to the secretariat which adopted two resolutions favoring cooperation with the Kuomintang and overthrow of the northern warlords who prevented national unity. Chinese labor was under Communist leadership at that time but the Kuomintang betrayed us and set about our destruction. We were forced to go underground".

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"I sailed to Kiangsi where I was elected to the Party Central Committee in 1927. The Politburo was not to be created until 1931. I organized trade unions in the Communist 'Soviet' areas or Su-wei-ai-ch'u (蘇維埃區) as they were known. When the long march began, the Communists retreating 6,000 miles under the attack of the Kuomintang, I went along as political commissar accompanying PENG Te-huai, now vice-commander in chief of the Chinese Communist armies. We ate grass for two months. There were many, many difficulties and dangers. All along the route we were harassed and strafed by planes. I could not begin to tell you of the tragedy and drama of this terrible journey". (See paragraph 19 below and comment).

"After arriving in the northwest I paused for a while and then rushed on to Tientsin and Beijing. It was now the winter of 1935. I was working underground, organizing sentiment against the Japanese. For two years, I lived in Beijing hiding constantly, remaining indoors during the day, sought always by the Kuomintang, but eluding them. I used a number of false names in writing pamphlets and sending letters to the newspapers. I arranged the clearance for Edgar Snow to enter the Communist areas though he never knew it and we have never met."

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"After the war broke out, I helped establish guerilla bases in Shansi and organized the North China Bureau of the party. Then I moved to Central China and helped plant the seeds of the New Fourth Army for which I became Political Commissar. After 1942, I returned to Yanan and have been working within the party ever since. I have participated in every major movement of the past twenty-five years and I think I have found the road to the solution of the China problem in the Chinese Communist Party".

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19. "My second arrest was at the hands of Chang Hsueh-liang, the Young Marshal. It took place in 1929 at Mukden where I was organizing workers secretly. CHANG's men broke up a strike and arrested the leaders. Luckily I was unknown to the police and dressed simply as a worker. After two months in jail and regular beatings, I was released for lack of evidence." 25X1A
Comment:
1929 may not be the correct date for this incident. In order for it to be so, LIU would have had to have left Kiangsi where he was elected to the Party Central Committee in 1927, gone to Mukden in 1929, and returned to Hunan to join PENG Te-huai in 1930 and take part in the Long March.)

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